

# The Working Class And The Employing Class Have Nothing In Common.

# INDUSTRIAL WORKER

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## PROSPERITY—WILL IT COME YOUR WAY?

Authoritative statements appear in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer of March 18th, that the lumber and shingle manufacturers of the Northwest expect to be swimming in milk and honey the coming season. They expect to enjoy unbounded prosperity, owing to the large demands for the products of the forests. It is predicted that the coming year will be the banner year in the lumber industry, breaking the former record of 1906.

What I would like to ask is this: Are we, the loggers, the lumberworkers and the shingleweavers—who compose the larger portion of the workers employed in the Northwest, going to enjoy this increased prosperity? Will we also swim in milk and honey, or will we still be forced to work long hours, under poor conditions, for small wages, forced to buy our jobs from the employment sharks and to carry our happy homes on our backs?

That the lumber manufacturers expect to reap a harvest the coming season cannot be doubted, when we read the statements appearing under the following headlines and part of which are herewith reproduced: "Lumbermen see big year ahead for the Northwest." "Predict that record of 1906, the banner year, will be smashed." "Orders come in floods." "Boom in eastern trade." "Spruce market active." "Shingle output bright."

"Northwest lumber manufacturers, with orders on their books sufficient in most cases to keep the mills operating sixty days, and with big yard, cargo and railroad business ahead, expect the 1910 trade to equal, if not exceed, that handled in 1906, the most prosperous year ever enjoyed by North Pacific lumber and shingle manufacturers."

"Not only are many large orders for lumber in sight, but the Eastern yard trade, which is considered the backbone of the lumber industry, is now booming up in excellent shape. Eastern yard stocks are low, and hundreds of these small orders have already been placed on the Coast."

"Lumbermen consider the yard trade of prime importance to the industry, inasmuch as it affords a diversified market for practically the entire output of the mill, with the exception of some common lumber."

Victor H. Heckman, secretary of the Pacific Coast Lumber Manufacturers Association, has this to say: "I confidentially expect 1910 to be one of the best years the Northwest Lumber industry has ever known." Further on the article continues:

**Spruce Market Active.**  
While the demand for fir lumber is brisk, conditions in the spruce market are said to be better than they have been in two years. Prices are at least \$2 per thousand higher than six months ago, and the mills have more business than they can handle.

S. L. Johnson, manager of the Grays Harbor Commercial Company, said recently: "The spruce business is good. Better values obtain than in two years. Prospects are bright and the demand strong. We have all we can do for sixty days."

**Shingle Outlook Bright.**  
The shingle market is likewise enjoying bright prospects. Under the stress of numerous inquiries from the East and a stock said to be 2,000 cars below normal on the Coast, prices have advanced sharply during the last ten days.

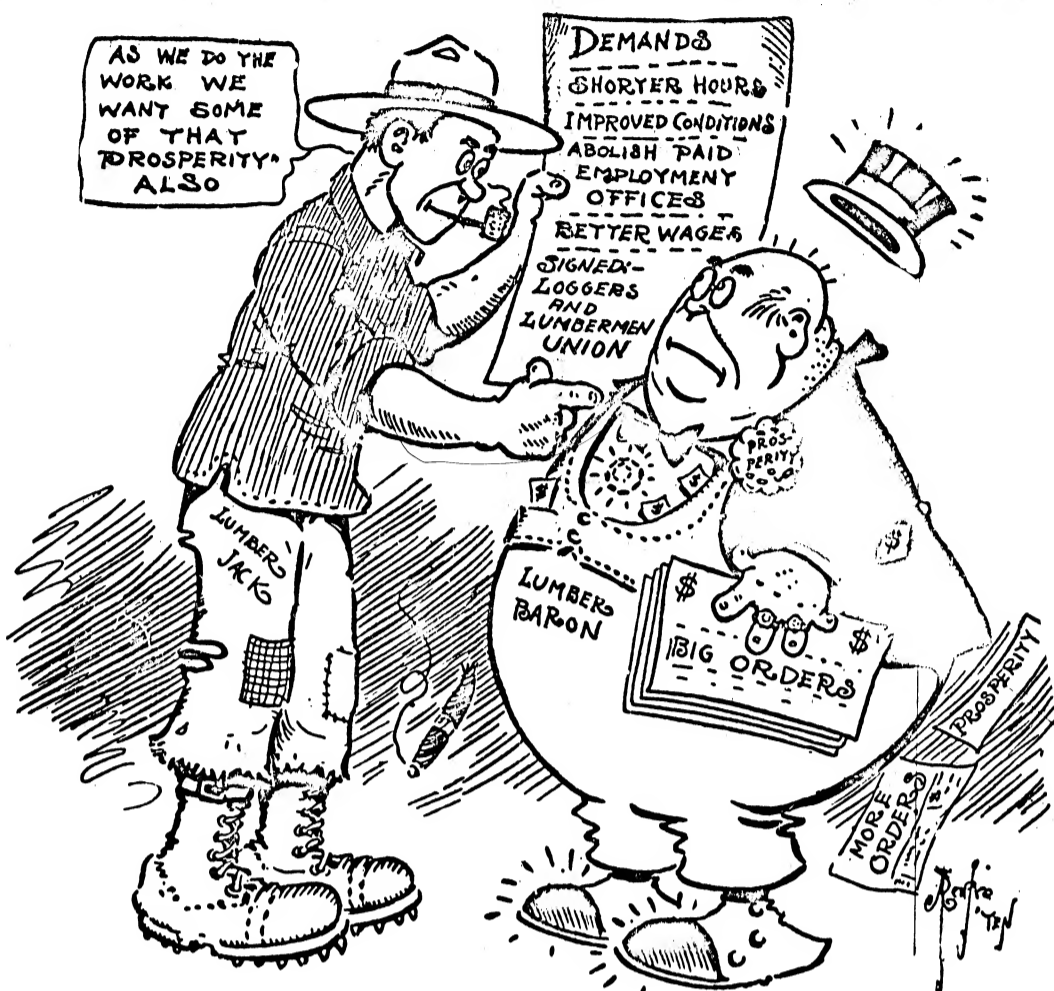
The inability to move cars at present is also contributing to the strength of the market, although shingle men state that if there was a consuming demand prices would go still higher. Star shingles were quoted at from \$1.65 to \$1.75, and clear at from \$2.10 to \$2.15. These prices have not been touched in months.

"The outlook for shingles is bright," said Col. H. S. Stace, Western representative of Barnes & Mauk. "Stocks on the Coast are probably 2,000 cars less than normally carried at this time of the year. Eastern yard stocks, according to the best advice I can obtain, are abnormally low. Future prices depend, however, largely on transportation conditions. Most shingle mills will be in operation by the end of the month."

The Lumber Manufacturers thus predict a banner year, not for the workman but for themselves. Let us the workers who are employed in the mills, the shingle mills and the logging camps, also make it a banner year for the workers. Why should not we the workers, who perform all the useful work, receive better wages, shorter hours and better conditions of employment. Our masters who do no useful work are looking forward to the coming season as one which will add to their profits, probably fondly dreaming of what they will do with the increased revenue.

Long have we the workers labored in the mills and in the logging camps, oftentimes sleeping in lousy bunkhouses, eating poor grub, working from early morn till late at night, packing our blankets on our backs, without bathing facilities or connections with the laundry, very poor facilities for drying our clothes and forced to buy jobs from the employment sharks; all this we have endured in the past. I say these conditions have lasted long enough. That it is time that a change is being made. Let us organize and demand from the lumber barons more of the product of our toil, that we may be able to live among respectable surroundings. It is time that we take a stand. Without organization we can accomplish nothing. In union there is strength. The thing to do is to organize and make our demands through organization. If the bosses refuse to accede to our demands—then every man employed in the mills, in the shingle mills, in the woods and in the factories, lay down our tools and go out on strike as one body and tie up every mill and camp on the Coast until they come through with the improved conditions demanded.

Do not say that this cannot be done. Wherever men have organized they have compelled the bosses to grant them concessions. The



Organized Industrially, the Workers would be in a position to dictate terms to the masters.

## DEAD AS RESULT OF BRUTAL TREATMENT

Thirty-five Days on Bread and Water Brings  
On an Attack of Diabetes and Causes Death  
of S. O. Chinn, Spokane Free Speech Fight-  
er.

Because of Chief Sullivan's brutal system, S. O. Chinn, who contracted diabetes after being fed on bread and water for a period of 35 days, died at the Deaconess Hospital of Spokane on Friday evening, March 18th. This brutal treatment was accorded him because of his participation in the Spokane free speech fight.

Chinn was a member of the Industrial Workers of the World. He had resided at Spokane for a period of two years, and for a time was secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the I. W. W. locals of that city. Those who knew him best knew him to be scrupulously, even fanatically, honest. He never drank, his personal life was clean and he was zealously devoted to what he thought was right.

Chinn went to jail because he believed that the constitution meant what it said; that free speech and free assembly were inalienable rights; that as a man it was his duty to see that they were not trampled underfoot. He caused no disturbance; he demanded merely what he considered were his rights. He believed that constitution meant what it said. But Chief Sullivan and the powers that be in Spokane had decreed otherwise.

Nowhere but in Spokane have men been put on bread and water for 35 days; from three to five days is the army regulation. For the average man a diet of bread and water for ten days, as it was allowed to the imprisoned free speech fighters, means chronic disease, but for 35 days S. O. Chinn was given a bread and water diet, and from the barbarity of the treatment he emerged a wreck and died a lingering death.

The Spokane Press has the following to say on Fellow Worker Chinn's death:

"He was one of the town's citizens and a quiet, soft-spoken, hard-working man. But he had determination; so had Sullivan to prove that when he said the constitution wasn't worth a damn, that he knew what he was talking about, so Sullivan kept Chinn on bread and water for 35 days, and so today Chinn, by giving up the struggle and finally dying, admits that Sullivan knew what he was talking about."

"Don't you wonder if Sullivan is real proud and happy of his little victory over S. O. Chinn?" "Chinn doubtless was to blame for his own death; he should have given up his fight against the odds; he should have recognized that men can be tortured to death in Spokane regardless of law or common decency, and he should have saved his life. But, you see, Chinn was not that sort of a man; what he thought was right meant everything in life to him, and if it had taken twice 35 days Chinn would have been there just the same."

"Sullivan can't escape the moral responsibility for this man's awful death today by saying the man could have given in and agreed not to speak on the streets. The government does not give its worst offenders one-third the treatment Sullivan gave this man, who was guilty of no offense the law recognizes, and when Sullivan transcended the bounds of civilized brutality 200 per cent he did so on his own responsibility."

Chinn's funeral took place on Sunday and was well attended, several hundred members of the Industrial Workers of the World, who were in the city at the time, taking part.

## ACCOUNTS OF THE STRIKE AT SHERIDAN, OREGON.

Last Friday morning, March 11th, we read in the morning Oregonian that about 150 men had gone on strike at the Sheridan Lumber Company's plant at Sheridan, Ore., against the shipping of men to pile lumber in the yards, through an employment agency.

After reading the above account we had banners painted bearing the words, "Strike on at Sheridan, Ore. Stay away," and had such carried along the streets past the offices of the employment sharks. This was continued for a period of two days and the result was that no men bought jobs to go to Sheridan.

Wm. Deneke and myself went down to Sheridan to ascertain what the trouble was. We arrived there on Saturday noon but the strike had been settled on the day previous. The result of the settlement was that the company was forced to send the men back to the employment agencies and to raise the pay of the men 25 cents per day almost all around. The wages of the men previous to the strike had been \$2 per day of ten hours. Most of the men being dissatisfied with the pay were ready to quit and seized the opportunity upon the arrival of the Italians who were to work in the yards by the employment sharks of Portland, to make their demands. No race prejudice exists as the morning paper would have the people believe. The men do not care who works in the yards as long as they do not reduce the standard of living.

The company is short handed at the present time. Fairly good board can be had at the hotels at \$5.00 per week. Hospital fee \$1.00. Three days' notice have to be given when you quit in order to obtain your money. The yard boss says he'll see that the men wait the three days for their money when they quit. Motto: Make him fire you if you wish to get paid immediately.

WALTER T. NEF.

## CONDEMN SPOKANE POLICE.

Portland, Ore., March 19, 1910.  
Industrial Workers of the World, in regular meeting:

Whereas, The chief of police, John T. Sullivan, and the police department of the city of Spokane, Washington, by and under the instigation of the mayor of the said city, Nelson S. Pratt, caused some three hundred of our fellow workers to be confined in jail on a diet of bread and water for a period of thirty consecutive days and in many instances for a greater period and,

Whereas, The greatest period this punishment is ever inflicted to the most recalcitrant prisoners in the penitentiaries and by the military of this or any civilized country, is fourteen consecutive days, a longer period of its application being regarded as inimical to bodily health and dangerous to life, and,

Whereas, This torture and inhuman punishment has actually resulted in serious and permanent bodily injuries to great numbers of our fellow workers, and,

Whereas, as the direct and continuous result of thirty-five days of such torture Fellow Worker S. O. Chinn, died on March 18 1910.

Be It Resolved, That we denounce the afore-said Pratt and Chief of Police Sullivan, as guilty of wanton and inexcusable murder and that we condemn them as monstrous and inhuman, criminal and abandoned, bereft of heart or human soul and that we invite the attention of all human kind to their foul and murderous act.

Be It Further Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the United States Senate through Robert M. LaFollette, to the national House of Representatives through Miles Poindexter of Spokane, to Acting Governor Hay of Washington, to the Associated Press, the United Press, and to the press generally throughout the United States, Canada and Europe.

JOE DUDDY, Chairman.

## LESSONS FROM THE PHILADELPHIA STRIKE

By Louis Douché.

It would be an easy matter to point out the weaknesses of the Philadelphia strike from the industrial union point of view. We could go on to show how in the beginning the street car men waited and waited before coming out, knowing the attitude of the Transit Company and believing themselves that a struggle was inevitable. We could show how they gave the company plenty of time to bring in scabs and thugs, and in every way possible prepare for the time when the men left their cars. We could also go on to show craft union weaknesses of a similar character regarding the general strike in "sympathy" with the car men.

The fact of the matter is, there are about 150,000 wage slaves out on strike in Philadelphia. The spirit of solidarity manifested by the rank and file of the Philadelphia wage slaves has surprised the A. F. of L. leaders beyond comprehension. They do not seem to understand it.

What I want to deal with in the Philadelphia strike is its revolutionary significance to the revolutionary union movement. First, these 150,000 workers in Philadelphia who came out in support of the car men have done more to teach themselves, and the whole State of Pennsylvania, class consciousness and solidarity than a whole tonload of literature. By breaking their agreements with their bosses the "sacredness of contracts" has received a good jolt; open hostility between them and their employers has been stimulated; the struggle between themselves and the bosses will be fiercer than it has ever been before. The bosses will no longer be sure of them; militants will be "tabbed" and "chopped off" as occasion presents itself; in short, there will be a fight from now on.

The fight will demand the activity of the militants of the different organizations; revolutionary methods will be thought out and employed; slimy labor leaders with conservative minds and capitalist instincts will have to take a back seat, while the more progressive and younger blood will naturally push to the front. As long as the conservative leaders were able to deliver the goods to the masters there was comparative peace in the various unions; as long as they could impress the membership with the "sacredness of contracts"; as long as they could impress the workers that a reduction in wages is more profitable than to strike, they were "marketable goods" for the capitalists.

But this latest act of the Philadelphia workers has "quered" these labor leaders; they will never again be the power to the capitalists that they have been. For it must be remembered that the economic masters of today do not wine and dine in Civic Federation halls with the Gompers and Mitchells because they have a particular love for them as individuals.

We read that over a large percentage of the unorganized of Philadelphia have come out in "sympathy," too. And that they are being rapidly organized by the A. F. of L., which rushed in hundreds of organizers when the general strike broke out and began making hay at once.

Here is an important point in this strike: It is quite probable that the A. F. of L. in this instance is saddling a horse that it won't be able to ride. These unorganized men, who are the so-called "unskilled" of Philadelphia, have been crushed to the starvation point; they gladly welcomed the burst of working-class solidarity; they joined the movement; they felt power, a oneness of interest, promise of support in their own battles. They will expect this from the A. F. of L.

When the general strike has been called off and these poorer classes of laborers are back at work, they will discover that the oppression of the employers has not been abated; it will be fiercer than ever. They will have to struggle in a body; the organization that the A. F. of L. built up among them will have to "make good." And here's where the A. F. of L. will "come clean" or get out, and thereby show itself up in the minds of the rank and file. Judging from the attitude of this organization—or disorganization—in the past, we are inclined to believe that it will not "make good"; that it will simply attempt to parcel the various workers off in little groups, avoid a struggle at every point; simply horde them in such a way as to make them harmless to the capitalists and financially profitable as office sustainers.

With the increasing oppression and the development of a militant spirit in the present struggle, it is more than probable that this will not be done; these workers will not stand for it. The A. F. of L., we believe, is, indeed, saddling a horse that it will not be able to ride.

Then there is the psychological effect of the general strike upon the minds of the workers as a whole. There is nothing like these mass movements to create in the minds of the proletariat opposition to all the institutions of capitalism. During them the swords of the workers and those of the capitalists are measured against each other; class struggle becomes a force economic struggle—what it really is—unveiled.

From now on the master class will put on the screws; the capitalists will reason that the only man who is not dangerous is a dead one and the only union that is harmless is no union at all. The same tactics will be employed against all forms of unions, craft or otherwise, as the Steel Trust is employing against the Amalgamated Association.

It will be war to the knife; knife to the hilt. But organized labor will come out victorious; it will grow in revolutionary spirit and organization in the struggle. In the direct conflict—and continuous at that—reactionary leaders will have to take a back seat; they will be sloughed off with the unfit. The old craft unions, with their antiquated methods and deadening spirit, will simply be burst to pieces. They will be pushed aside by the merciless forces of economic evolution, to make way for the new and revolutionary union of the workers. The I. W. W. will then come into its own. The structure of the new society will then be completed. A new era of mankind will dawn; "civilization" will then begin to be a reality.

To the revolutionary unionist the outlook was never more hopeful; to the worker who is not afraid of a struggle, the fields are indeed, ripe for the harvest.

# Our Fellow Workers, Preston and Smith Are Still In Jail

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Act of March 3, 1879.

### DON'T BUY JOBS.

Employment sharks skin the workers. Stop  
the robbery by organization.

Don't tell the boss how hard you have worked  
or can work; he will only laugh at you. Join  
the I. W. W. and help put the boss to work.

The A. F. of L. divides the workers into little  
petty warring groups. The I. W. W. through  
industrial organization unites them.

"In the good old summer time," the hobo be-  
comes a harvest hand.

When were the troops ever called out to aid  
the workers?

Armies and navies are simply to protect the  
parasites against the useful workers. Abolish  
the parasites and the army and navy would  
not be necessary.

At present the "Cradle of Liberty" is being  
rocked by "Cossacks, gun men, Pinkerton spies  
and police thugs, employed by the street rail-  
way corporations of Philadelphia.

We would suggest to Sammy Gompers that he  
go to Philadelphia and mention to some of  
the wage slaves there, who have felt the weight  
of the "Cossacks" club descend upon their head,  
that "the interests of capital and labor are  
identical."

The I. W. W. does not allow its ranks to be  
divided by race prejudice. We recognize only  
one enemy and that the capitalist class. In  
opposition to that class stands the working  
class, whether the individuals composing that  
class be white, black, red or yellow. If you are  
a workman you are eligible to membership.

Mayor Pratt of Spokane says that fully one-  
half of his time is taken up by complaints that  
are brought to him by workers who have been  
skinned by the employment sharks. How  
about the poor devil that is shipped a thou-  
sand miles from nowhere and unable to return  
to lay their complaint before the mayor?

I'm a union man, says the A. F. L. 'ite, and  
to add weight to his statement says: "I belong  
to two unions," and produces two cards, just as  
if a union card in the inside pocket makes the  
bearer a union man. At the same time this  
gent is working on a building where a trade  
of which he is not a member is out on strike;  
working alongside of scabs, perhaps even help-  
ing scabs. Such are the ludicrous situations  
produced by the teachings of the craft unions.

Organize into separate unions, is the A. F. L.  
slogan. All the workers are aware of the fact  
that in union there is strength, but to carry  
out this conclusion logically we must go further  
than uniting individuals into little groups, often-  
times warring on one another, as to who is to  
control a certain piece of work. Craft division  
with craft autonomy is a weakness and not  
strength. We must unite the different unions  
and workers into one great big union, embrac-  
ing all industries; not loosely affiliated, but  
united solidly into one organization having only  
one label, one card and one enemy to fight, and  
that the capitalist class.

It is well and good to tell the average wage  
slave that you are building up an organization  
which in time will take over the means of  
transportation and distribution and administer  
them for the workers. But if you want the  
worker to join your organization just tell him  
that you are organizing for the purpose of get-  
ting more beefsteak. That's what will strike  
him. You bet it will. Heap navy, beefsteak  
revolution.

For want of the necessary means to pay for a  
bed a number of men applied at the city jail  
for lodging. Next morning a call arrived at  
the city jail asking for volunteers to go to the  
scene of the Wellington avalanche disaster to  
shovel snow. The men were to work gratis,  
the company to furnish the board. Four men  
responded to the call and now the newspapers  
proclaim, as the snow has all been cleared  
from the track and trains running once more,  
that these four "worthy men" are to be re-  
warded by the railroad corporations. Yes, Jim  
Hill is going to reward them in the shape of a  
job. One dollar and seventy-five cents per day  
for ten hours on the end of a muck stick cer-  
tainly is a generous offer. On the level, ain't  
the bosses off nice?

Every patriotic American citizen who boasts  
of America "the land of the free and the home  
of the brave" should turn his eyes unto Phila-  
delphia. Here within the shades of the liberty  
bell men, women and children are being club-  
bed, beaten and shot by the thugs in blue and  
brass. Fifteen thousand persons who sought to  
peaceably assemble at the ball park were  
driven away by fifteen hundred bluecoats, who  
used their clubs freely in dispersing the crowds.  
What if the constitution does say that free  
speech and free assembly is an inherent right  
of the people? The corporations own and con-  
trol the government, and they dictate to the  
workers the interpretations of the same. Such  
is the much-vaunted "American liberty." Verily  
I say unto you that Bingham was right  
when he said the policeman's club was bigger  
than the constitution.

### WEIGHED IN THE BALANCE.

The average worker when he first comes into  
contact with Socialist propaganda rejects as  
utterly absurd the suggestion that he is a "wage  
slave."

A slave, indeed! Why, the mere suggestion  
is an insult, and his bosom swells with manly  
indignation against the Socialist rant who  
has used the term.

And yet were he to put on one side his per-  
sonal prejudices to consider the question on  
its merits, to use his reason, he would find on  
every hand the overwhelming proofs of his  
slavery.

What is a slave? Herbert Spencer, the great  
anti-Socialist philosopher, defined a slave as  
one who is "compelled to labor for other bene-  
fit than his own."

Is not that your position? Are you not com-  
pelled by dire necessity to sell yourself to an  
other class which only allows you to work  
when it can make a profit by your labor?

This small class are the owners of the land  
and factories without access to which you can-  
not work. The owners of the machinery of  
wealth production are therefore the owners of  
the workers. The workers possess only the  
semblance of freedom; they differ from the  
chattel slaves only in so far as they take their  
own hide to the market to be sold, and con-  
sequently lack even the surety of a livelihood  
that the chattel slave possessed.

The chattel slave represented to his owner  
the outlay of the purchase price; if he died or  
through ill treatment became weak and feeble  
and unable to work, the owner lost valuable  
property which he would have to replace by  
means of a further expenditure of money.

But how is it with you? If he discharges  
you, the employer knows that he can get plenty  
to take your place at the same or even a  
lower wage; if you become worn out through  
overwork he will lose nothing; indeed, he will  
stand to gain, for having used you up quickly  
and thereby gained a greater profit from your  
labor he can replace you by a younger and  
more active man without any increased ex-  
penditure on his part.

"It is, as every manager knows, a very bad  
state of affairs where there are no spare hands  
in the district, no reserves to call out and there  
is the constant danger that his men may be  
tempted away from him by some other employ-  
er who is also short-handed. Death of labor  
must be regarded as a worse evil than a fair  
excess of it."

"In capitalist society the workers are not  
treated as human beings; they are mere  
hands, living merchandise bought and sold  
in the labor market. Wherever there has been  
in human society a class living in luxurious  
idleness there has been as its counterpart a  
class of slaves whose labor has produced the  
wealth which their masters consumed. In cap-  
italist society the industrial wage workers pour  
forth their energies in the mines and the fac-  
tories, on the railways and the land, their lives  
are converted into a swollen stream of wealth  
which flows to the parasitic owners of indus-  
try. Controlling the machines which the work-  
ers must use in order to live, the capitalists  
are masters of the situation and can dictate  
their own terms. They graciously permit the  
worker to toil on the condition that all he pro-  
duces above his keep shall become part of their  
profits.

Occasionally they condescend to patronize  
charities which relieve an infinitesimal portion  
of the misery which their system produces, but  
for every penny that they give in the form of  
insulting charity they take back a pound by  
means of "business enterprise." They are quite  
willing that the few workers who can with-  
stand the nerve and body wrecking conditions  
of modern industry and survive to the age of  
threescore years and ten shall receive as a pen-  
sion a sum which is less than their wives would  
spend on a pet dog. They regard the money  
which they spend in charity and which the poli-  
ticians raise for social reform as a means of  
insurance against social justice.

With the development of trustified industry  
the employers become ever more ruthless and  
brutal in their attitude towards labor. Every  
possible means that can be devised for increas-  
ing the exploitation of labor and rendering the  
workers more subservient to their every act  
and wish, is introduced. Bonus systems, hus-  
tling methods, intimidation, are the order of  
the day.

At the Delaware and Hudson Railroad shops  
at Carbondale, Pa., the men who weigh less  
than 150 pounds are being discharged, as the  
company does not consider that men weigh-  
ing less possess the physical strength and en-  
durance necessary to enable them to work to  
their satisfaction.

Such is the pass to which we are coming,  
the worker is not only to go through the degrad-  
ing process of allowing the employer or fore-  
man when engaging him to eye him over as if  
he were a horse or a mule up for sale, but his  
merchandise character is to be brought still  
more clearly home to him, and he is to be  
weighed like a pound of butter or tea. In the  
labor market, stripped of all human attributes,  
he becomes a mere article for sale, a mere  
profit-making machine. And should he be un-  
fortunate as to not turn the scale at the  
proper weight, he is to be thrown in the in-  
dustrial dust bin and left to starve or eke out  
a miserable existence on charity; weighed in  
the balance and found wanting.

But the workers are beginning to have a lurk-  
ing suspicion that all is not well with a sys-  
tem of society in which they are reduced to  
the condition of saleable commodities. They  
are commencing to question the veracity of the  
smooth-tongued supporters of capitalism and  
will shortly combine together to secure social-  
ism when human welfare and happiness will be  
the only incentive to the production of material  
wealth.

But of this the capitalist class take no heed;  
drunk with power and rioting in their untold  
wealth, they are like Belshazzar and his lords  
at the feast, who "drank wine, and praised the  
gods of gold and of silver, of brass, or iron, or  
wood, and of stone."

They give dinners to prostitutes and pimps,  
while the children of the poor die in want;  
they indulge in debauchery and gamblers' vice,  
while those who have produced their wealth  
shiver in rags; but already the discerning can  
see the writing on the wall, "Thou art weighed  
in the balance and found wanting."

The rotten edifice of capitalism is tottering  
to its fall and it remains for the workers to  
erect on its ruins the structure of the Co-opera-  
tive Commonwealth.—The New World.

### SHARKS

By Walter C. Smith.

When the use of powder and shot displaced  
the bow and arrow as a means of warfare an  
entire change in the opposing forces took place.  
Not only did the attitude of the opposing forces  
change, but within the ranks of each force a  
corresponding change took place, so revolution-  
ary in its character as to produce even a differ-  
ent attitude between man and man. Of neces-  
sity the armor changed to withstand the shot  
and shell; a different means of transportation;  
different ammunition trains, and different meth-  
ods and tactics were brought forth. A com-  
pletely different form of organization was nec-  
essary. The army which clung to the bow  
and arrow method of warfare was doomed to  
certain defeat. The army which adopted pow-  
der but clung to old tactics was annihilated, as  
was the army which endeavored to use the  
new methods while clinging to the bow and  
arrow. So it is today with the craft unionist  
in the A. F. of L.

The craft unions cling to the outworn form  
because they lack realization of the change  
which has taken place in industry. The indi-  
vidual stockholder has been displaced by the mod-  
ern stock-holding trust magnates. Hand pro-  
duction has been relegated to the rear by the  
modern factory process. No longer is skill  
required of the vast majority of the workers.  
The bow and arrow has passed and with it the  
methods of the savage. Here and there sec-  
tions of the A. F. of L. have tried industrial  
union tactics without industrial organization,  
with resultant failure. Here and there they  
have adopted the form without the tactics and  
methods, with disastrous results. It should be  
plain to any one with gray matter in their dome  
that nothing but an industrial organization  
with industrial union tactics can hope to cope  
with the situation. Such an organization is  
the I. W. W. Possessing, as it does, the indus-  
trial form with separate branches to carry out  
the details of shop, mine and mill; equipped  
as it is with direct action tactics, sabotage,  
irritation strikes and other revolutionary tac-  
tics; composed as it is of wage-workers alone,  
the Industrial Workers of the World stands  
out in bold relief against the sky of craft sepa-  
ration. It is the up-to-date unionism. Join its  
ranks.

The woeful wall that arises from the ranks  
of the small business man is amusingly absurd.  
Their lamentations about iniquitous trusts and  
evil combinations of labor are as ludicrous as  
are their proposed remedies of trust busting,  
trust regulating, graduated income taxes, inher-  
itance tax and old-age pensions. Like the farm-  
er who farms the farm hand, they are ready to  
seize upon any proposed plan so long as their  
profits are not endangered. Consequently we  
hear much talk about the "radical" farmers,  
small business men and others of their ilk.  
Radicalism to the middle class simply means  
reform. All their so-called radicalism is a hind-  
rance rather than a help to the workers. Any  
worker who has had the misfortune to find a  
middle-class radical for a master knows that a  
top capitalist is to be preferred from his point  
of view. The dinky little cockroach capital-  
ists are divided into two sections. One com-  
prises those who have been forced downward  
from larger holdings and the other one is the  
portion who have risen from labor's ranks.  
The former believes that labor was responsible  
for his retrogression and treats his "help"  
accordingly. The other has been a worker at one  
time and woo to be the slave who dares go to  
the toilet too many times. This cockroach  
knows all the little tricks by which workers  
get a respite from their burdensome toil and  
consequently is the hardest taskmaster of them  
all. Let the reformers stick to their special-  
ized field of politics—but true radicalism must  
and its basic expression in industry. Join the  
I. W. W. and put a few of these "petty bour-  
geois" where they will be eligible to join us.

Because their pay checks were overdue, the  
miners employed at the Gold Cup mine, near  
the mining camp called Tin Cup, in the center  
of Taylor Park, Colorado, stuck up the superin-  
tendent, Ashby Johnson, and forced him to dig  
up \$250 in part payment. This happened on  
Friday, March 11. On Saturday the men hit  
the trail for Buena Vista, thirty miles to the  
east. "They met Lum Lowe, mine boss, who  
had team, wagon and provisions, and took the  
outfit from him and forced him to hike to  
Buena Vista. The hold-ups are known to the  
mining company, but so far none of them have  
been caught.

These actions are decidedly unladylike and  
are not to be countenanced by civilized persons.  
What these rough-necks should have done is to  
wait until 1912 and cast a vote of protest  
against the iniquitous system that takes the  
food, clothing and shelter out of the mouths of  
the hungry workers. Aw, hell! Quit your  
kiddin'!

### ORGANIZATION NECESSARY

In every nation of the world today, as well  
as in the past, we find the ruling classes in so-  
ciety busy devising ways and means by which  
to control the educational institutions. They  
seek to do this in order to further their own  
interests. This they accomplish through the  
control of the press, the school and the pulpit.

This being a fact, it is up to us, the workers,  
to find out by what power they control these  
institutions and to wrench this power from  
them, that we may control them for our own  
interest. I for one hold that the one cause  
which keeps the shackles of wage slavery riv-  
eted on us is the respect which the average  
worker holds for the existing order of society,  
due principally to the teachings of our so-called  
educators.

You may say that this is not true, but let us  
see. How about the man who sings "My Coun-  
try, 'Tis of Thee," and yet does not own or  
control one inch of earth's surface. Those who  
speak of prosperity and yet have no bread.

The slaves must break away from such teach-  
ings. Bread cannot be obtained by faith. Ask  
yourself this question, "How did the bosses  
obtain the goods?" You will find that they  
turned the trick through organization and the  
education which they gave the slaves.

The Industrial Workers, therefore, hold that  
the slaves must do the same in their own inter-  
est, ever propagating the world-wide fact that  
"labor is entitled to all it produces." All that  
we can hold at present is that which we can ob-  
tain through the power of organization. This  
power we must build up on every job for mu-  
tual protection. Just think of the tremendous  
power which the working class would have if  
they were organized and acted together.

We, the workers, are the ones who feed and  
clothe the human race. Do you know that  
present-day society could exist longer without  
us than it could without the work of labor?  
So you can all see that there is but one  
cause of poverty and that our utter ignorance  
of self interest. The only way to dispell this  
is to do your own thinking and to plan your own  
actions.

## DIRECTORY I. W. W. LOCAL UNIONS

The following is a directory of the Industrial  
Unions and Branches of Industrial Unions of  
the Industrial Workers of the World in the  
United States and Canada. Secretaries of  
Unions are requested to notify the editor of any  
changes desired in this list.

The General Officers of the I. W. W. are as  
follows:

General Secretary-Treasurer—Vincent St.  
John, 518 Cambridge Building, 55 Fifth Avenue,  
Chicago, Ill.

General Organizer—Wm. E. Trautman, 518  
Cambridge Building, 55 Fifth Avenue/Chicago,  
Ill.

General Executive Board—Joseph J. Ettor,  
100 Charter Avenue, McKees Rocks, Pa.;  
Elizabeth Gurly Flynn, Box 1600, Spokane,  
Wash.; Francis Miller, 12 Rosemont Terrace,  
Lymanville, R. I.; George Speed, 909 Howard  
street, San Francisco, Cal.; T. J. Cole, 609 Anna  
street, Blue Island, Ill.

### ARIZONA.

Secretary. Town Address.  
272—F. Velarde, Phoenix, 944 E. Van Buren St.  
273—W. Welch, Globe, Box 1851.

### BRITISH COLUMBIA.

44—Alice Harding, Victoria, 1630 Pembroke  
street.  
45—H. S. Caffery, Vancouver, Room 3, 61  
W. Cordova Street.  
322—W. B. Smith, Vancouver, Room 3, 61 W.  
Cordova Street.  
326—A. E. Grant, Prince Rupert, Box 711.  
326—A. L. Elliott, Nelson, Box 653.

### CALIFORNIA.

1—George Paff, Los Angeles, 243 East Second  
street.  
12—Wm. Allen, Los Angeles, 243 East Second  
street.  
13—Eenson Jaynes, San Diego, 960 India St.  
18—W. R. Sautter, Los Angeles, 243 East Sec-  
ond street.  
63—Wm. Erickson, Los Angeles, 243 East Sec-  
ond street.

66—W. F. Little, Fresno, 1114 Federal Alley.  
173—J. Lebon, San Francisco, 909 Howard St.  
174—G. Mays, Oakland, care Galindo Hotel.  
245—John Troy, San Pedro, 212 Fourth St.  
419—R. Vore, Redlands, Box 357.  
437—Branch 4: James Carriges, Imperial,  
Box 267.  
437—Peter LeBlanc, Holtville, Box 42.  
437—Branch 2: J. H. Sanderson, Brawley, Box  
456.

### COLORADO.

26—Harry Weinstein, Denver, 124 14th Ave.  
ILLINOIS.  
302—Car Builders, Hegewisch.  
86—Branch 1: R. Stromberg, Chicago, 110 W.  
Elm Street.  
Branch 2: K. Rathje, Chicago, 935 Wells  
Street.  
Branch 3: E. Janicki, Chicago, 7 Emma St.  
167—A. Simpson, Chicago, 1811 Oakdale avenue.  
500—W. D. Borger, Pullman, 20 E. 103rd St.

### INDIANA.

200—Henry Hahn, Muncie, 2009 S. Elm St.  
301—John Hermann, Hammond, Box 599.  
201—W. H. Jarver, Anderson, 2408 Brown St.

### IOWA.

139—Ben Limberger, Sioux City, Gen. Deliv.

### LOUISIANA.

38—F. Albers, New Orleans, 137 North Scott.

### MINNESOTA.

64—C. H. Fisher, Minneapolis, 527 Emerson  
avenue North.

137—Peter Johnson, Minneapolis, 516 Fifth St.  
South.

424—W. Free, Deer River.

### MISSOURI.

84—M. Robertson, St. Louis, 2651 Washing-  
ton Avenue.  
188—B. Blumoff, St. Louis, 2007A Biddle St.  
Branch 2: L. Goldberg, St. Louis, 2340 1/2  
Carr street.

413—W. A. Hoffman, St. Louis, 2634 South 18th  
Street.

### MONTANA.

39—Ralph H. Belcher, Billings.  
40—Pete Brown, Missoula, Box 745.

41—J. W. Bailey, Great Falls, 505 Fifth Ave.  
South.

105—John Byrne, Anaconda, Box 635.  
142—J. F. Schroeder, Anaconda, 212 East Com.

405—F. C. Meyer, Butte, Box 1133.

421—Frank Dieter, Kalispell, Box 175.

### MICHIGAN.

Mrs. Elma Anolien, Negaunee, L. B. 277.

### NEBRASKA.

86—F. H. Alexander, Omaha, 627 South 17th  
Ave.

### NEW JERSEY.

24—A. Hagsberg, Harrison, 15 Franklin ave.  
510—H. Hartman, Jersey City, 107 Paterson St.

If you were to stop and think it over it should  
be clear to everyone that if we were to unite  
into one union formed on industrial union lines  
we could then turn the table on the bosses. To  
do this you must act. Actions speak louder  
than words. The I. W. W. is the bread and but-  
ter union of the workers. Build it up by get-  
ting in and doing your duty. If you desire bet-  
ter things it is up to you to get after them.  
Do porterhouse steaks look good to you? If  
so, get after them

C. H. AXELSON.

### REDLANDS ENDORSES SAN FRANCISCO AMENDMENTS.

At a regular business meeting of Agricultural  
Workers' Local 419, Redlands, Cal., it was  
moved and seconded and carried unanimously,  
that we heartily endorse the two motions of  
Local 173 of San Francisco. The first dealing  
with the lowering of the per capita tax from  
fifteen to five cents per member from directly  
chartered locals.

We firmly believe that this motion should go  
through at the next convention; because it is  
first and foremost absolutely necessary that  
we must look to the growth of the locals, first,  
last and all the time—and this cannot be done  
except by conserving to the locals every means  
of financial help, to enable them to carry on  
their educational work by the means of litera-  
ture, hiring suitable headquarters, doing away  
with initiation fees and many other ways to  
help the local along; thereby helping the locals  
to better equip themselves to become more  
effective in carrying on the propaganda work.

This we claim is of infinitely more importance  
to the organization than anything else, because  
no organization can prosper as a whole with-

### NEW YORK.

15—A. Black, New York, 403 West 127th.  
95—W. Northrop, New York, 44 West 95th.  
163—W. N. Waagboner, Jersey City, 236 Suydam  
Avenue.  
179—J. A. Koulston, Brooklyn, 128 State Street.  
317—J. Fronkowiak, Buffalo, 1159 Broadway.  
420—C. G. Fisher, New York, 243 East 152d.

### OHIO.

75—G. A. Storck, Lorain, 1860 East 29th.  
82—B. Penky, Cleveland, 2267 Hazen Ave.  
89—Evan Enoch, Martins Ferry, 301 Hickey  
street.  
295—Clyde Sweeney, Massillon, 19 Charles St.  
West.  
33—F. L. Croley, Cleveland, 5704 Maurice ave.

### OREGON.

92—J. Jackson, Portland, 306 First street.  
93—Paul Brower, Portland, 306 First St. S.  
141—W. T. Nef, Portland, 306 First St. South.

### PENNSYLVANIA.

5—L. D'Andrea, Dunmore, 306 Smith street.  
143—Michael Rheinhard, Pittsburg, 5904 Har-  
vard street.  
218—Geo. W. Pearce, Mt. Washington, Pitts-  
burg, J. J. reenbush Street.  
291—Tube and Pipe Mill Workers, Soho, Pitts-  
burg.  
292—Car Builders, Woods Run.  
293—Th. Dessemie, Allegheny, 826 Green street.  
294—Kroatan Branch, Th. Dessemie, Allegheny,  
826 Green street.  
295—Val. Spunar, McKees Rocks, 100 Charters  
Ave.  
297—H. C. Fletcher, Newcastle, 235 Meyer Ave.  
298—Charles McKeever, Newcastle, Box 622.  
299—Jerry Kauffold, Lyndora, Nixon Hotel.  
398—James Allassia, Box 239, Monongahela City  
392—Paulon Bastide, McDonald, Box 224.  
511—J. Yanello, Old Forge, Box 13.  
515—Anton Parisee, Parsons, Box 81.  
516—G. Grechl, West Pittston, 118 Luzerne ave.  
524—T. Gostomo, Scranton, 101 Lackawanna  
avenue.

### RHODE ISLAND.

99—C. A. Ulderico, Woonsocket, 686 Diamond  
Hill.

### VERMONT.

7—F. Rossi, Montpelier, 115 Barre street.  
176—N. Imbruglio, Waterbury.  
410—L. Marchetto, Barre, 10 Shurtleff Place.

### WASHINGTON.

131—A. C. Cole, Seattle, 1524 Fifth avenue.  
182—Chas. Brown, Spokane, Box 2129.  
178—Aug. Wangeman, Seattle, 1524 Fifth ave-  
nue.  
222—W. H. Douglas, Spokane, Box 2129.  
316—Al Enstrom, Anacortes, Box 698.  
337—Henry Larson, Bellingham, 2216 F Street.  
354—G. C. Wertenbaker, Aberdeen, Box 779.  
352—W. J. Morris, Seattle, 1524 Fifth avenue.  
423—F. W. Shwartz, Spokane, Box 2129.  
432—Earl Osborne, Seattle, room 3, 218 Sec-  
ond avenue south.  
434—Hugh A. Hanley, Spokane, Box 2129.

### WYOMING.

140—Louis Moreau, Cheyenne, 418 West 17th  
street.

### NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNION TEXTILE WORKERS.

National Secretary—Francis Miller, 12 Rose-  
mont Terrace, Lymanville, R. I.  
20—G. O. Smith, Lawrence, Mass., 113 New-  
berry street

# INTERNATIONAL LABOR NOTES

(From Bulletin International du Mouvement Syndicaliste.)

**Holland.**  
A Dutch National Congress—The Congress of the Revolutionary Syndicalist Unions affiliated with the National Labor Secretariat of Holland will take place March 27 and 28 in the "Palace of Industry" in Amsterdam. For the office of secretary 24 organizations have nominated the present incumbent Fellow Worker H. Koethen, the only candidate. Besides administrative matters we find on the order of business various propositions from the executive boards as well as from several locals. There is one resolution against obligatory insurance with assessments to be paid by the workers instead of pensions without assessments; also several motions to publish bi-weekly instead of weekly the official organ of the Secretariat, which has recently been enlarged.

**Germany.**  
The German National Union of Bakers and Pastry Workers is at present holding agitation meetings in all the countries of the empire, to gather their colleagues for a battle against the system of boarding and lodging furnished by the employers and, further, for a struggle for reasonable wages for their laborious toil; a weekly day of rest and a reduction of the hours of work.

In this industry we meet everywhere with such demands, springing from the antiquated and cruel conditions of work, which continue to exist in the bakeries and pastry shops of every country.

**Austria.**  
The Struggles Between Nationalities and the Labor Union Movement—Up to quite recently the Socialist and labor union movement of Austria were the only Austrian movements which did not have to suffer the consequences of the internal conflicts between the various nationalities of the empire. This has now ceased to be the case in the Social-Democratic party and in the unions led by the politicians of this party. The politicians and grand chiefs of Austrian unionism, such as Hueber and consorts in Vienna, are in the habit of sacrificing the conflicts which have arisen and of which we have already spoken several times, solely to the narrow nationalist spirit of the Czechish nationalities, etc. The same interpretation is still given by the official organ of the labor union commission of Austria, Die Gewerkschaft (Feb. 5, 1910), in speaking of the serious conflicts which still continue at Brunn and in showering reproaches over the local representatives of the Czechish social-democracy Vanek and Tösch. As we have for several years back closely followed the Austrian labor movement, it would perhaps not be without its use to repeat here that, according to our opinion, the spirit of excessive discipline and the lack of autonomy in the political and in the union movement counts for much, in fanning the nationalist spirit. As a matter of fact, the functionaries at Vienna are even this time trying to make us believe (see the mentioned number of Gewerkschaft) that they "have respected the full autonomy of the organizations, as much as the interests of the whole organization permitted them. However, anybody who in the least knows what autonomy means in the most advanced countries of Western Europe and in the United States cannot help but contradict this assertion. Speaking of the union movement alone, the high functionaries at Vienna should understand that in such a large country as Austria, inhabited by populations of different languages, the masses of workers in Prague and Brunn will not be satisfied with sending their assessments to central treasuries in Vienna, and, in case of strikes, with receiving the orders sent out to them by the chiefs in the capital.

**Switzerland.**  
The Congress in Payerne—The 27th of February was held in Payerne the congress of the Federation of the Labor Unions of Latin Switzerland. About 30 delegates were present, coming from Geneva, Vevey, Lausanne, Montreux, Neuchâtel, Berne, Yverdon, Irbour, and Stion. Complete absence of delegates from the

Jura. The reason for this is to be looked for in the distant location of Payerne and in the high expenses which the trip would have involved. The reports of the various sections, to which we shall return, occupied most of the time of the congress.

Then followed a discussion of the situation arising for the working-class movement as a result of the new reactionary laws. After a report in the matter and a short discussion, a resolution was adopted, in which the congress appeals to all workers "to continue the fight against bourgeois rule in spite of the repressive laws against strikes, which have been passed in certain cantons and are in the course of preparation in others." The congress calls attention to the fact "that the practice of direct action by the workers, as well as the propaganda in favor of such action, constitute a danger for the property-owning class, seeing that they feel the need of taking recourse to repressive laws to protect their privileges."

Hereupon the motions of the unions were taken up. After a lively discussion the per capita tax to the federation was cut down one-half. The congress ended early in order to give room for a meeting which was to be held at 4 o'clock in the same hall. This meeting, at which Fellow Workers Wintoch and Bertoni spoke, was successful beyond all hopes in such a hopeless locality as Payerne.

## PORTLAND MEMBER MURDERED.

Portland, Ore., March 21, 1910.

**Fellow Workers:**  
I have been instructed to ask you to put the following notice in the Industrial Worker of the murder of Fellow Worker Charles Main, a member of Local 92, in Harkersfield, Cal. His body was found buried under manure beside a stable on March 17, his head had been literally broken to pieces; it was evident from the way his clothing was torn and the bruises on his body that he had made a hard fight for his life. Robbery had evidently been the motive for the crime, as he was wearing good clothes and had been seen with quite a lot of money in his possession, all of which was gone. The only way he could be identified was by his Union card, which was in his pocket when the body was found.

## AS TO PROPOSALS TO COMING CONVENTION FROM LOCAL NO. 173.

While in agreement with the general idea underlying both motions, i. e., to cut down the per capita to 5 cents a month, and that no general officer of the I. W. W. shall serve more than two consecutive terms in same office, I wish to state briefly my reasons for thinking that neither motion should carry.

The principal reasons given, first, to leave more funds in the local, and, second, to prevent concentration of power in the general administration, cannot be found fault with. But the body of arguments advanced to strengthen the case, if carried to their logical conclusion, lead directly to decentralization.

To reduce the per capita to 5 cents a month at this time, decreasing the income of headquarters 66 per cent, would seriously cripple the organization.

With an organization several hundred thousand strong, 5 cents per capita would be enough; with our present membership and form of organization it is not enough.

Personally, I believe the per capita could be reduced to 10 cents a month.

The case of the longshoremen is given where it is claimed that three or four thousand men in New York refused to join the I. W. W. because they were not admitted on an 84-cent per capita. If my recollection serves me right, this statement has no foundation in fact.

In the case of the low dues of the Confederation Generale du Travail, it should be remembered, first, that their form of organization is not centralized as much as the I. W. W.; second, that the tendency is unmistakably to adopt a more centralized form similar to the I. W. W.; third, that the trend is towards higher dues and per capita, and last, but not least, that each union pays a double compulsory per capita, one to the "Section des Bourses du Travail" (Federation of District Councils), and one to the "Section des Bourses du Travail" (Federation of District Councils).

While it is true that the revolutionary organizations of Europe keep very few paid officers, and that their wages are not high, does not the same hold true in the I. W. W.? The organization has just two paid officers, the general secretary and the general organizer, and their wages (I hate to call it a salary), \$90 a month, can scarcely be called high. Practically all employed in the building trades in Chicago, as well as the printers, brewery workers, mail carriers, etc., get as much or more.

As to the second motion if "the general headquarters ought to be only an office or bureau for the exchange of correspondence between the various locals and the organizations," why should you want to change officers at every other term if their duties are to be purely clerical?—to replace a man who has developed efficiency for an unknown quantity.

I firmly believe that the rank and file of the I. W. W. is fully capable of controlling its officers, and there is where the remedy lies after all is said, and that the membership will always be ready to "tie a can" to any of our officers in any way derelict in their duties is the hope of

FRANCIS MILLER.

## NEW HEADQUARTERS

The Spokane Locals of the I. W. W., Nos. 132, 222, 223 and 434 have established new headquarters at 616 Front Avenue, near Wall Street. All those wishing to pay dues will find the Secretary at this location.

### MEETING NIGHTS.

Local 434—Monday evening, 7:30 p. m.  
Local 222—Wednesday evening, 7:30 p. m.  
Local 223—Monday evening, 7:30 p. m.  
Local 132—Wednesday evening, 7:30 p. m.

T. H. DIXON,

Sec'y Executive Com.

## HEADQUARTERS OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

1524 Fifth Avenue, Seattle, Wash.  
Reading room open from 8 p. m. to 10 p. m.  
Library contains a long list of books dealing with the labor problem.

Pamphlets on Industrial Unionism for sale at the following prices:

Why Strikes Are Lost and How to Win.....5c  
Industrial Combinations.....10c  
Industrial Unionism.....5c  
Eleven Blind Leaders.....5c  
Social General Strike.....5c  
I. W. W. Song Books.....5c  
Industrial Worker, single copy.....10c  
Solidarity.....5c  
Propaganda meetings held every Sunday at 8 p. m.

CHAS. P. WILLIAMS,  
Sec'y Propaganda Committee.

# SINCE 1888 FREE SPEECH FIGHT

(Continued from last week.)

December 2nd. City Comptroller Fairley stated that the fight has cost the city \$1,000 a week to date.

Raid made on hall during propaganda meeting by Capt. Burns and squad of police. Eight boys of the I. W. W. newboys' union arrested and kept two days in jail.

An attempt to hold a business meeting in the hall frustrated by Capt. Burns who, getting wind of it, raided the hall with a dozen policemen in hope of arresting officers.

Dec. 3rd. James Wilson and E. J. Foote sentenced to six months in the county jail for "conspiracy." S. E. Bailey arrested for "conspiracy."

Dec. 4th. A. E. Cousins and J. P. Thompson sentenced to four months and six months respectively, in the county jail for "conspiracy." Joe A. Dudley, Richard Brazier, Johann Foss, Albert V. Roe, Martin Amundson and Fred Fisher transferred from the various jails to the county jail on charges of "conspiracy" after having served 30 days sentences on bread and water. Foss' case was mistaken identity, and after being confined two months without trial he was released.

Dec. 6th. Raid on I. W. W. headquarters. Otto Justh, John Foss, Hartwell Shippey, Chas. Grant, John Reese and Chas. Murdock arrested for "conspiracy."

Dec. 7th and 8th. Gurley Flynn tried for "conspiracy" in Judge Stocker's court. Jury of six prominent business men bring in verdict of guilty, after 15 minutes' deliberation. Although in a delicate maternal condition, she received sentence of 90 days in the county jail. In the trial prosecuting Attorney Pugh and Attorney Moore almost came to blows. Pugh forced by court to apologize. Harry Nelson released from city jail after stay of 22 days in the sweat box, in which he lost 50 pounds.

Dec. 11th. Police stationed at Inland Printing Company's office confiscated the issue of the Industrial Worker as it came from the press. It contained sensational charge against county jail officials by Gurley Flynn. Paper issued from Seattle.

Dec. 12. Experience night at I. W. W. hall by released prisoners from various jails, who had served 33 days on bread and water. Many of them too weak to take the platform. Horrible tales of abuse and suffering in Fort Wright and Franklin school.

Four policemen permanently stationed at I. W. W. hall as censors over remarks of speakers.

Dec. 13. Frank Reed, 13-day-hunger-striker, arrested from platform for making slighting remarks about the American flag. Booked on charges of "conspiracy" and desecration of the flag.

Mass meeting of I. W. W. at headquarters called off starvation tactics and decided to go on rock pile in future, as human endurance can't stand the terrible bread and water diet more than 30 days. Of late all members arrested sentenced to 30 days and \$100 and costs. Alleged that Judge Mann received threatening letter from Chicago Anarchists in which he is given 10 days to take his "dirty carcass out of Spokane or we will give some undertaker the job of planting it." I. W. W. offers to furnish bodyguard to Judge Mann and Chief Sullivan if they fear violence.

Dec. 14th. Attorney Sam F. Crane convicted in Superior Court on charge of disorderly conduct. Sentenced to ten days on the rock pile and to pay a fine of \$100 and costs. Spokane press estimates cost of fight at \$20,000. Many of the men released from the jails too sick and weak to eat solid food. They were fed on milk toast, soup, etc., and were called the "milk toast gang."

Dec. 15th. English, German and Swedish I. W. W. hold meetings and protest to their various governments of the brutal treatment accorded them in Spokane jails.

Dec. 16th. W. Z. Foster, Seattle Socialist reporter, arrested. I. W. W. prisoners all put on bread and water before trials.

Dec. 18th. German-Turner Society gives privilege of hall to Gurley Flynn to speak in after the issue of every other hall in town, except Socialist hall, had been refused.

Dec. 20th. Kitchen at which sick men were fed removed from hall at request of police.

Dec. 21st. I. W. W. headquarters violently closed by squad of police under Captain Burns. Men hustled out. Some of them so sick they had to be taken to the hospital. Hall rent had been paid in advance. Charters and other papers seized as "evidence." I. W. W. unable to secure a hall in town as landlords dared not rent to them for fear of police persecution. Temporary headquarters established at Hilliard, beyond the city limits.

Dec. 22nd. Demurrer to complaint in Filigno "conspiracy" case argued before Judge J. Stanley Webster of the Superior Court. Webster sustained Judge Mann's ruling and held second (discriminative) ordinance invalid and first (prohibitive) ordinance in effect. Chief Sullivan announced that he keeps paid men in the ranks of the I. W. W.

Dec. 24th. With characteristic organization spirit the prisoners in the city jail organize themselves into a temporary local and hold regular propaganda and business meetings. Fully 40 working men arrested as vagrants and drunks who attended the jail meetings declare their intention of joining the organization on securing their release. Caretaker at the Turner hall warned by police not to rent hall to I. W. W. Matter referred to membership who nobly stood by I. W. W. and defied the police.

Dec. 26th. Filigno "conspiracy" case appealed to the Supreme Court of Washington.

Dec. 27th. Mrs. Eleanor Herman and Mrs. Beulah Hyde left Seattle to take part in free speech fight.

Dec. 30th. Sergeant Buck Miller of Franklin School notoriously, resigned from police force rather than have his record examined.

Jan. 4th. Shingle weavers in convention at Everett, Wash., donated \$100 to free speech defense fund and cast a solid one-third vote for withdrawal from the A. F. of L. and affiliation with the I. W. W.

Jan. 7th. Mayor Pratt answered letter of Leonard D. Abbot in "Current Literature" and said Gurley Flynn's charges of brutality in the county jail are false and are the result of a hysterical nature. Fellow Worker Spaulding released from jail after being confined there six days without trial.

Jan. 9th. Chas. Moyer, president of the W. F. of M., wrote letter to Thomas O'Brien of Butte, which was published in the "Spokesman Review," in which he called the I. W. W. a flat failure. The free speech fight was designated as simply a subterfuge to revive it into life again. C. M. Connors and Joe A. Duddy sentenced to four months and two months respectively in the county jail for "conspiracy."

Jan. 10th. Agitation growing out of charges made by Gurley Flynn culminates in demand by Women's Club for three matrons at the city jail.

A. V. Roe, Martin Amundson, Wm. Douglas, G. W. Reese, Richard Brazier, Louis Gablewood and Fred Fisher, I. W. W. "conspirators," sentenced to terms of 60 days, 16 days, 30 days, 30 days, 15 days, five months and four months respectively in the county jail by Judge Stocker. Brazier is the author of most of the songs in the I. W. W. song book and this is what his "conspiracy" consisted of.

Jan. 13th. Men arrested daily for selling the suppressed "Industrial Worker" upon the streets.

Jan. 14th. Gurley Flynn instituted suit for \$10,000 against Mayor Pratt for libel.

Jan. 15th. Bill Shannon resigned from police force after "faithful service" of twenty years.

Jan. 16th. Socialists deprived of use of Oliver hall because they allowed platform privilege to Gurley Flynn in face of police threat. They had occupied Oliver hall six years.

Jan. 19th. Bruce Rogers, I. W. W. attorney, 32nd degree Mason, Knight Templar, Knight of Pythias, Elk, etc., sentenced to ten days in county jail for technical crime of passing letters to prisoners. Judge who sentenced him also a prominent Mason.

Jan. 21st. Last of I. W. W. "conspirators" tried in Judge Stocker's court. They were Geo. Speed, Otto Justh, Charles Grant, John M. Foss, Hartwell Shippey and Thomas Whitehead. The jury was composed of six business men, who on entering the jury room to "deliberate" on the case, asked the judge if it were possible to affix a fine in addition to a six months' sentence. After being out five minutes they brought in a verdict of guilty and a sentence of six months in the county jail for each. Attorney Symmes of Chicago was associate counsel with Mr. Moore.

Feb. 3rd. Damage suits aggregating \$150,000 entered against Spokane police officials for their brutality towards I. W. W. prisoners.

March 1st set as date for the fight to reopen.

Feb. 6th. National Organizer James P. Thompson released on \$2,000 bonds.

Colonel Abercrombie removed from command in the I. W. W. trouble. He offered use of fort as a jail without consulting his superior officer, General Maus.

Feb. 8th. Mrs. Bessy Fiset, correspondent of the Seattle Socialist, braved the anger of the police and sold the Industrial Worker upon the main street corner in Spokane. She was unmolested. Judge J. Stanley Webster of the Superior Court, who ruled against the I. W. W. in the Filigno demurrer case, muckraked by Duchez in the "Chicago Daily Socialist." Unfavorable record exposed. Washington Bar Association appointed investigating committee. Police Commissioner Tuerke who was blamed for the expose summarily removed from office by the city council.

Feb. 9th to 25th. The great Gurley Flynn-C. L. Filigno trial. Cost taxpayers \$4,000. Judge H. L. Kennan denied motion for change of venue claiming that there was no prejudice against the I. W. W. in Spokane. Later, of 40 veniremen examined, 38 admitted that they were prejudiced. Jury selection occupied two days. Gurley Flynn and Hartwell Shippey brilliant witnesses for the defense. Judge Kennan reversed Judges Webster and Mann, and held the second ordinance (which discriminates in favor of "regular religious organizations") to be valid. Attorney Symmes filed \$5 for contempt of court by Judge Kennan who resented constant insinuations that the court was unfair. While jury was at home over Sunday prosecuting Attorney Pugh gives out inflammatory interviews and threatened dire trouble to Spokane if verdict was unfavorable. Defense moved for new trial on grounds of an attempt to influence the jury. Motion denied by Judge Kennan who mildly rebuked Pugh for his "unprofessional and unethical tactics." Jury out 24 hours, brought in verdict of "guilty" for Filigno and "not guilty" for Gurley Flynn. Jury composed of nine farmers and business men, a school teacher, a scab carpenter and a stonemason, the latter being a closed man.

Feb. 22nd. National Organizer Fred W. Heslewood arrested in Coeur d'Alene on charge of "conspiracy" by Captain Burns. Extradition papers secured from Gov. Brady of Idaho.

Feb. 27th. Capt. Burns arrested in Coeur d'Alene on charge of perjury in connection with Heslewood case. Released on own recognizance.

Charles Brown arrested at Hilliard for "conspiracy." Total arrests to date, 521.

Feb. 28th. I. W. W. committee held conference with Mayor Pratt regarding street speaking situation.

March 2nd. I. W. W. committee conferred with Chief Sullivan and arrangements were made for a general conference next day.

March 3rd. Conference in city hall in afternoon between committee composed of Mayor Pratt, prosecuting Attorney Pugh, Corporation Counsel Blair, Chief Sullivan and Captain Burns for the county and city, and Fellow Workers Stark, Mokeyevy, Gillespie and Foster for the I. W. W. After two-hour talk the conference adjourned to Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, to discuss Heslewood case upon which the whole negotiation hinged. At Coeur d'Alene Gurley Flynn, Fred Heslewood and Attorney Moore joined I. W. W. committee. Conference held in Judge Dunn's chambers while crowded courtroom awaits Heslewood proceedings. In return for concessions on the part of the police Heslewood surrendered himself to the Spokane authorities and the perjury case against Capt. Burns was dropped. Damage suits against the city were also dropped. Police agreed not to interfere with hall meetings or the sale or publication of the Industrial Worker. Prisoners in the city jail to be released immediately and those in the county jail to be discharged gradually on a "sliding scale." A fair street speaking ordinance to be passed in the near future. Heslewood to be allowed his liberty on \$2,000 bonds, and case to be dismissed in 90 days. Filigno also to get out on \$2,000 bonds and case to be dismissed in 90 days. The appeal to the supreme court to pend meanwhile.

March 4th. At a mass meeting of all the I. W. W.'s in Spokane the negotiations of the conference committee was endorsed and the free speech fight declared off during the good faith of the authorities.

March 5th. City prisoners released by Chief Sullivan according to agreement.

March 7th. I. W. W. charters and books returned by Prosecuting Attorney Pugh.

## THE FALSE GODS.

Today any mind gifted with clear-sightedness realizes that the age or dominant position of an institution is no criterion of its worth to mankind, of its justice or of its perpetuation.

Among many others there are two false gods clamoring for attention and obedience from the working-class of America today as never before. These two false gods are Politics and Craft Unionism. Politics, being the older of the two, and being most predominantly impressed in the mental mosaic of the race, seems likely to engage the attention of multitudes of naive-minded or ill-informed workers for a long time to come, until, in short, Industrial Unionism gathers the momentum and significance of growth co-existent with the exhibited ineffectuality of working-class political sponsors—a la Socialist party.

The whole web of politics—insofar as the working class is concerned—is metaphysical, and as such is a false model. Even with the properties, classes—capitalists, bourgeois and

petty bourgeois—politics is but a "catching up" with the already accomplished. Note Hill's speech at the closing of the A.-Y.-P. Exposition, where he said: "The best thing that could happen to the country (that is, his country—the property-owning) would be for the Washington Jesus to go home for four years," thus admitting the unnecessary part politics plays in capitalist functioning.

"Trust legislation, railway rate legislation," and all similar political gyrations, are but the patching and tinkering of existing statutes to "catch up" with an accomplished capitalist mechanism; readaptation of law to fact, and have no bearing on the interests of the working-class, except as a part of the structure to fall with capitalist methods of production and distribution. Now, if politics has become essential to capitalist functioning, how much less essential must politics be to working-class functioning—being so far removed from the plane of working-class life, and from all concrete association with concrete benefits for that life.

But politics is not alone distant from actual effect in working-class life. It is worse. It is a false and dangerous model to hold before the worker, alienating his attention from the shop as his field of action, divorcing interest which should engage itself with the perfecting of an organization in the terms of his own life, and revealing his energies into useless and harmful abstractions.

The birthday of working-class legislation (?) in the United States will be found to have uniformly followed economic organization, thus again exhibiting the "catching up" nature of politics. Even had there been great benefits derived from such legislation—which one is far from admitting—the fact of its succeeding the demands of economic organization should be proof of legislation's uselessness. Why should energy be expended in a field foreign to organized economic activity, when by the very nature and terms of its existence—given full development and direct action—it wants can be attained? Because of the antiquity of politics (we are still under the spell of Rome's legal and political bewitchery) it will be a most difficult task to eliminate its false models, and to institute in their place the concepts of industrial functioning. That this can be done, that it is today in an advanced state of accomplishment, knowledge of the industrial organization of France is proof.

Why should men perpetuate false models of working-class activity? Three reasons: Ignorance, self-interest and false concepts of working-class psychology.

The first is universal and contains many subdivisions such as religious fanaticism, patriotism, lack of class-consciousness, blind prejudice and instinctive misanthropy. The second is also anti-social and has direct association with the many phantasms of exaggerated capitalist psychology; ego-worship, hero-worship, property-worship and the pneumatic ideas of capitalist politics, capitalist shop morality and

(Continued on Page Four.)

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## "SOLIDARITY"

LABOR EXCHANGE  
NEWS ITEMS

All members of the I. W. W., especially those employed in the camps, should send in reports to this labor exchange column, so that the membership may be kept posted on the conditions existing in said camps or places of employment. What we want is good, reliable information. In sending in reports do not exaggerate the faults or poor conditions existing at such places of employment. We know that as a rule the conditions under which we are forced to labor are bad enough, but the thing is not to make them appear any worse than they are. We want information that can be relied upon. When the boss hires men from the employment sharks state the name of such employment agency and the city where the men are shipped from. Job cards on which to make out the reports can be had for the asking, either from the secretary of your local union or by writing to this paper. In going out to camp do not fail to take one or more of these along and to make the same out and mail to the paper before leaving.

## LABOR EXCHANGE NEWS ITEMS.

Eagle Gorge, Wash.

Page Lumber Company.

Wages \$2.25 per day and up. Pay once every month. Grub is bum. I. W. W. men can secure work here. Sleep in bunkhouse. Discount 2 per cent if you quit before the regular pay day. Hospital fee \$1.00. Boss hires men from the employment sharks only when he cannot hire men otherwise. This is a good place to stay away from. Work eleven and one-half hours per day.

F. GAUSLIN, Member Local No. 432.

Gallier, Wash.

Knight Bros.

Logging camp. Wages \$2.25 to \$5.00 per day. Pay whenever you quit. Grub is poor. I. W. W. men can work in this camp. Sleep in bunkhouse. Hospital fee 25c per week. Boss hires men from employment shark. Snow until the Fourth of July.

EARL OSBORNE, Member Local No. 432.

Portland, Ore.

Plenty of work to be had around town. Wages \$2.00 to \$2.50 per day for laborers. Work 8 and 9 hours per day. Free employment office of the city has quite a number of jobs for out of town and for in the city also. Slaves will not take them owing to the poor wages. Cheap jobs.

W. T. N.

Eunemclaw, Wash.

White River Lumber Co.

Wages \$2.00 to \$4.00. Pay once a month. Grub is bum. I. W. W. can work here. Sleep in bunkhouse. Hospital fee \$1.00. Boss hires men from employment shark. Remarks—Work in rain, snow or shine.

J. W. McALISTER.

Member No. 432, Seattle, Wash.

Burbank, Wash.

Burbank Power, Water and Land Co.

Wages \$2.25 per day of 10 hours. Board \$5.50 per week. Poor grub. Hospital fee 10c per day. Boss a regular slave driver. All men men are hired at Pasco free employment office at Owl saloon.

JOHN POMATTO.

Lewiston, Ida.

Wages \$2.25 for 10 hours. Skinners .35c per month. Board \$4.50 per week. Good boss, board and place. I. W. W. men can get on. Call at office of Lewiston Orchards & Water Co. and ask for Green.

## WALLACE RESOLUTIONS.

Wallace, Idaho, February 27, 1910.

We urge upon you and through you the Congress of the United States, and especially its committees on labor, the injustice of permitting the contract work for the government to be done under the ten or twelve hour work day.

Congress has demonstrated the desirability from every standpoint of the eight-hour work day by establishing it in all the departments, with the very best results to both the government and its employees.

We also urge upon you the desirability of getting a universal eight-hour day for all workers.

Last year only 50 per cent of the workers were employed in the United States; by establishing a shorter work day it would give the other 50 per cent a chance to obtain the means of subsistence. If we want good citizens, we must of necessity shorten the hours of labor, so that the workers may have time to study and help to make a better system of government, but when men and women are working from 10 to 12 hours a day, and some places more, their mental capacities are liable to become stunted. If you have the interests of the workers at heart you should devote all your energies in getting this eight-hour bill passed.

The question of the day in all countries is what to do with the unemployed; every day we see more labor-saving machinery invented, thus throwing more people on the unemployed market. The only solution is for the government to own the means of production, and thus establish a work day that all may partake of that bounteous wealth that nature provided for us, in place of the chosen few as at present.

Therefore, we respectfully request that the eight-hour bill known in the Senate as S. 5578, and in the House as H. R. 15441, which provides for an eight-hour work day on all contract work done for the United States government, be reported out of committee and passed at this session of Congress.

The above was unanimously adopted by Wallace Miners' Union, No. 17, W. F. M., March 6, 1910, and that a copy be sent to the labor papers and local papers, also to Senator Heyburn and Congressman Hamer.

SAM KILBURN, Act. Secy.

## WHAT IS SLAVERY?

(By Percy Bysshe Shelley.)

'Tis to work and have such pay  
As just keeps life from day to day.  
In your limbs, as in a cell,  
For the tyrant's use to dwell.

'Tis to be a slave in soul  
And to hold no strong control  
Over your own will, but be  
All that others make of ye.  
So that ye for them are made.

Loom and plow and sword and spade,  
With or without your own will bent  
To their defense and nourishment.

'Tis to see your children weak  
With their mothers pine and peak,  
When the winter's winds are bleak—  
They are dying whilst I speak.

'Tis to hunger for such diet  
As the rich man in his riot  
Casts to the fat dogs that lie  
Surfing beneath his eye;

And at length, when you complain,  
With a murmur weak and vain  
'Tis to see the tyrant crew  
Ride over your wives and you.

Men of labor, heirs of glory,  
Heroes of unwritten story,  
Nurslings of one mighty mother,  
Hopes of her and one another,

Rise like lions after slumber  
In vanquishing number;  
Shake your chains to earth like dew  
Which, in sleep, has fallen on you!  
Ye are many, they are few.

(Continued from Page Three.)

capitalist law. That great world of politico-legal scoundrelism may or may not be conscious of its parasitism on the working class, for self-interest is a most blind and primitive instinct; but there is slight excuse in either case, and one cannot be too defamatory in the case of conscious parasitism on the working class—as in the case of the political and labor fakir.

The third has reference to those who are class-conscious, and to those also who recognize the existence of economic injustice, but who know little or nothing of working-class psychology. Those who are class-conscious and are still spinning their web of political metaphysics in which to entangle the workers, are committing about the most grievous crime possible. What is more criminal, what more disastrous than to entangle a class of relatively simple psychology into a maze of metaphysics and abstractions beyond the terms of their life?

Why perpetuate an intricate program when the needs and wants of the working class can be formulated in relatively simple terms? When, in fact, just such a program is already in existence? When it deals with the affairs of the worker's life in the terms of his life? As presently constituted the worker is incapable of understanding either the nature, function or object of any politics—capitalist or radical. His life is little concerned with abstractions; why, then, seek to further embarrass his struggle with so complicated a program as politics?

The mass of workers are unfamiliar with either the historical development of their own class, or that unreal concept of development of the master classes, supposedly recorded in their political history. The aims of the New Industrialism are relatively simple when compared with the colossal prospectus of political intention. These aims can be formulated in terms comprehensive to working-class psychology. Politics has never been the real expression of any class, and now that the science of industrial functioning and control is as well formulated as it is, there is no further need to perpetuate a model so foreign to the real terms of working-class life.

A study of industrialism as operating in France for the past fifteen years will not only be of immense practical benefit to industrial organizers, but will tend to create a greater synchronism between the two movements, and thus accelerate the moment of synchronous action. The units of greatest functional efficiency in the New Industrialism must ever bear in mind the rapidly with which capitalism is consciously internationalizing itself, and must seek corresponding communality of development.

One of the functions of I. W. W. organization should be to repudiate all politics from the spirit of the New Industrialism. Too long have Jesuitry and sophistry sought to enmesh the working class in America. Too long have the inherited models of political action misled many a well-intentioned worker intent upon discovering what was the matter with himself and his class. No healthier sign of political concepts from such organizations as deal with its life in the terms of that life. That the ideal of industrial function and control must prevail before politics loses its false glamor is not to be doubted. The death of the false gods can be made the death of all gods.

F. C. PEASE.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM  
TACTICS AND PRINCIPLESBy W. J. FISHER.  
(Continued from last week.)  
Living Conditions for Labor.

We should not only stop certain evils we labor under, stop capitalist aggressions against the laborers, but launch a positive program for the building up the living conditions and power of labor. The shortened work day, the abolition of child labor and labor of married women in factories, and also the abolition of sweatshops, these are but a part of a program to do away with competition between the laborers to the end that the laborers may get the values they produce. To accomplish this organized labor is to demand conditions of living for its members, yet, all the laborers. While the wage system lasts we must see to it that an ever-increasing portion of the values we create go to us. Take the conditions here in the West, where lumber is the main industry—what do we find? The logger carries out to a logging camp a dirty blanket roll, sleeps in a filthy and often lousy bunk house, eats poor grub in a hurry and rushes out to work ten and eleven hours at hard and exhausting labor. The sawmill workers are among the poorest paid laborers, living in poor wooden "shacks," often rented at exorbitant prices from the mill company and trading at a company store, where they pay the highest prices for all they buy; or else the mill worker boards in a cheap and dirty boarding house, often kept by the company, where they pay the highest for what they get. The long hours, hard work and small pay leaves the loggers and sawmill workers but little time, means or strength to study and educate themselves, while their recreation is often coarse and degrading. What is true of the logging is true also of the railroad and irrigation camps—the great mass of labor, especially common labor, simply exists. In the aforementioned camps and places of labor we want to substitute for bunk houses, blanket rolls, cook shacks and long hours of labor entirely different conditions. For single workers a modern hotel, steam or hot air heated in winter; at least two rooms well furnished for each worker, lockers for both working and good clothes and effects; baths, first-class beds, excellent dining room and the best of well-cooked food. For the married workers the best of houses, feed, clothes and sanitary conditions to minister to the bodily wants and comforts. A thorough education for all, including manual training in some industry for all children, books and other means of information and mental culture.

When at work greater care for safety of the workers, fewer hours and better labor-saving devices, so we who work will have more energy left to cultivate and enjoy life. The union refuses to let its members work in foul or dangerous places, but insists and forces the installation of the best protective devices on the machinery, in mines or other places of labor. The union declares and sees that the sweatshop and slum are abolished. It is no excuse to say that the workers and dwellers in these places don't know enough to get out, don't know how to resist. They must be shown a way, and, where falling in line, the organized workers are to refuse to supply the sweatshops with raw materials, and wherever the owners of sweatshops succeed in getting goods manufactured the workers refuse to take away or use these goods. We are to abolish the slum because it degrades and weakens the workers. Refuse to furnish materials food, clothing or fuel for the owners or slum dwellers in slums and we speedily break up the foul, disease breeding, health-destroying, moral, physical and intellectual plague spots of tenement and lodging house districts of our large cities. The wage workers are to be taught to desire and strive for a fuller life and the things and environments that make that possible. Once beginning to understand this as a practical method of action, the workers will begin to demand that their wages shall cover an ever-expanding desire for the good things of life. If to fulfill such demands takes the sum total of the workers' production, that is what we want. To build up good living and working conditions for us workers means wealth taken that the employers now get. It means that with each successive advance of us laborers in the getting of this wealth we will be strengthened to take more, and the power of the employing class weakened to resist or oppress us. The power of a class is its income. Take that away and you undermine and overthrow its power. Take away the income of the capitalist and you destroy them as a class. We are after the incomes of the capitalists first, because we wage laborers want it to get more of the good things of life; second, because it means the overthrow, and destruction of the capitalist as a class, and once and forever doing away with class rule, class oppression and class exploitation.

## THE POSITION OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONISTS TOWARD CAPITALIST LAWS AND GOVERNMENTS.

What position do we as Industrialists take toward capitalist laws and governments? But before we proceed let us analyze capitalist government, and show what it is. In theory modern constitutional governments represent all the people, in practice they only represent the property interests. As the property interests are practically the employing interests, because it is only the owners of the tools of production that employ labor, so we have an employing class government in action. All governments secure their income from property, in other words property taxes itself to keep up the executive committees of its common interests—government. The one who has the greatest amount or the most centrally commanding property interests has therefore, the greatest interest and influence in the government. A man without property, or its equivalent, money, has no rights under the law. If he is considered at all it is only because the employing interests desire to protect him so he may produce wealth for them—in the same way as they protect their horses and mules. If the wage laborer is idle he can be vagged, and if he resists he can be beaten into submission or killed. The object of such vagrant laws being to secure cheap labor, consequently force the wage laborers to go to work and make profits for an employer, even, yes that you may underbid some one else, or, if you refuse to do this, get the heavy hand of the law upon you. The same applies to the use of the injunction, police and soldiers against striking or locked-out workers, that is, go to work at any price or we'll "soak" you with the heavy hand of the law. But how near impossible to convict a man of great wealth? And then only when he has trampled the rights or privileges of other men of wealth, or other property interests, but never when he has crushed or defrauded labor. Under capitalism, capital has individuality and is independent

while the laborers are subject and have no individuality.

Existing governments and law then is only the instrument at and will of the propertied class, the class that employs. Being the employing class and the work class have nothing in common, that a struggle must go on between them, it follows we laborers have nothing but hostility between ourselves and existing governments. Every institution, every regulation, custom or power used to uphold the present system of employer and employee we will strive to and are making powerless and destroying, and in its place substituting the power and institutions of the working class. Whether it is an anti-street speaking ordinance, a court injunction against labor, an anti-boycott or any other law against labor we will do all in our power to overthrow these laws. If not strong enough to overthrow them by direct violence, we will take such means as we can until we can secure power enough to overthrow those laws. Nor does this mean violence, guns, bombs or military operations, but only the organizing and controlling our social labor power as a class, and through our power to start and stop production we thereby set up our will as the power and law, and revolutionize society in our interest.

Our investigation shows that the employing class have their power because they have been able to organize and direct the laborers to produce things necessary to society's needs and desires. It matters not whether this is done in person or by deputy, their hired bosses, law, custom and social consent gives them the right to own the tools of production, and through it to organize the workers for their, the employers' welfare. And the machine is self-perpetuating because no industrial union of the workers has yet arisen strong enough to overthrow the employers and take over production for the workers. The power of the owners of modern industry depends upon the perfection and ability of their organization to force the laborers to create wealth for them and the proportion of wealth they, the owners, can keep for themselves. In other words in their income lies their power. To get power the working class must get that income. But society as a whole must be fed, clothed and housed, its necessities and comforts looked after. To do so today requires a highly socialized production. Now the class that has or can best organize and direct the industrial processes by which the peoples' wants are fulfilled will hold the land and machinery of production. Production must be carried on and if the workers are not organized to carry on production in their own interest then an exploiting class will organize them by force or fraud in the interest of the exploiters.

But let us briefly review what the capitalist class has done, and if their way is any longer useful or beneficial to the great mass of the people. From being a subject class under feudalism they (the capitalists) have risen to become the industrial masters of the world and conquered for themselves in the modern representative state exclusive away. They have subdued all old or antiquated forms, and either done away with them or else subdued and turned them to their uses. The church but expresses the moral ideas of the business interests; the students in the schools are but prepared to further that interest; the press boosts for business and governments are agents for business. Churches, schools, press and governments all are but executive committees or propagandists for business. The capitalists have greatly stimulated production, have conquered and are daily conquering new markets. Their necessities, generated by competition, have compelled them to improve machinery and methods of production. In place of the old hand tools have come the gigantic modern machines; in place of the small workshop has come the great industrial trusts with their immense factories. Transportation has been revolutionized and concentrated with a few. The demands of production is that business be carried upon a more comprehensive and thorough scale. In order to do this the waste of competition has to be done away with, combination has and is destroying competition, the trust succeeds the small business. Lines of industry hitherto not trusted, such as textiles, are today being trusted. Surely and certainly every industry falls under the sway of gigantic combinations. Industry is organized to produce the cheapest by concentrating production, by doing away with waste and useless labor and cheapening labor.

The old form of labor organization, craft unionism, becomes useless in fighting these trusts. Craft unionism is adapted to the stage of competition, to combat the small business interests, but because of its divisions it cannot combat the concentrated power of the trust. As a result, we see the craft unions almost a thing of the past in the steel, oil and meat industries; immensely weakened in the coal fields, and transportation industry. Because capitalist production has simplified the processes of production, greatly eliminated skill and largely made the skilled artisan the tender of an automatic machine that can be operated by common labor, the craft unions can no longer be a progressive fighting force to resist the encroachments of capitalism or make gains for labor. Craft Unionism moreover cannot organize the unskilled laborers who are the greatest factor in modern production. Therefore we conclude that modern industry has not only changed the face of production but also rendered largely useless the present organizations of labor. But to whose gain has this been done? Is it for the welfare of the great majority? Are the laborers more secure and better off than formerly? Has it been for the physical, intellectual and moral welfare of the laborers? When we see poverty increasing, the surplus army of idle labor growing, competition between the laborers growing sharper, insecurity of livelihood for the laborers increasing, slums growing, the growing frequency of the use of the government to suppress labor troubles and break up labor organizations; the cheapening of labor and growing difficulties of labor to make an existence, the sum total of oppression poverty and misery of the workers increasing, when we see all these things and know that if not stopped they lead directly to a social catastrophe, we say that society can no longer be ruled by this plutocracy. It must be overthrown for the welfare of the great mass. But this plutocracy manifests no tendency toward relaxing its hold, toward easing up in the exercise of its power, nor can it. It can only go on so long as the demands of business is to concentrate production, and the beneficiaries of the capitalist system demand greater profits and while there is no other power to direct production. It remains for the laborers to organize and turn the agencies for wealth production to their own use.

(To be continued.)

## PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO BY-LAWS.

Article V, Section 1: Strike out "He shall appoint a majority of all committees. He shall also fill committees in case of vacancies therein."

And insert: "He shall have no authority to appoint committees or fill vacancies. All committees to be elected from the floor by the members."

Proposed by L. U. 137, I. W. W., Minneapolis, Minn., Peter Johnson, Secy.

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